15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other, and there is less to carry.

Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them. First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

• The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.